

NORTH-WEST AUSTRALIAN ROCK PAINTINGS

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PREFACE

The Frobenius Expedition to North-Western Australia, March-December, 1938, made a survey of a number of the picture caves and rock-shelters of the Kimberley tribes. The World War and post-war conditions have so far prevented publication, so that the account given here is the first to be presented.

The extensive paintings found in rock galleries of the Kimberleys form a class of their own among the widely diffused drawings and paintings of the Australian aborigines. Professor Elkin, who in 1928 investigated some of these galleries, was the first to realize their significance.¹ The very first discovery of representations of the human-shaped but mouthless mythic being Wond'ina was made by Sir George Grey over a century ago.² About 1900 Mr. Fred. Brockman travelled the Kimberleys and took photographs of whatever Wond'ina paintings he came across; they were published by F. M. House.³ In the Northern Territory, D. S. Davidson found rock paintings to a certain extent related to the Wond'ina paintings; in his comprehensive book on Australian aboriginal art he reproduces also some of Brockman's and Elkin's photographs.⁴ Grey's much-discussed reproductions can now be compared with the recovered originals.⁵ Mr. Coate's researches have widened and deepened what had already been established in substance by Professor Elkin.

A different type of representations of human figures occurs in Central and Northern Kimberley. These representations, the provenience and significance of which are as yet unestablished, have rarely been met with by observers. While the report of the discoverer, J. Bradshaw,⁶ dates back to 1892, the first scientific account of the subject was given by C. P. Mountford in 1937.⁷

Jointly with my colleague Gerda Kleist, I was entrusted with the copying of the paintings. I am here giving a typological view of the representations recorded. From our headquarters at Munja and Sale River Station we visited the Walcott Inlet district; from the Kunmunja Mission and the little ground-nut farm at Mary Springs, we visited the region further north. Apart from the paintings inspected by ourselves, I am reproducing, from photographs, sketches, and notes, paintings found by Dr. Petri and D. C. Fox on minor excursions and on their overland journey to the Drysdale Mission. Dr. Petri was kind enough to put at my disposal his complete collection of interpretations and myths relative to the picture galleries.

1. A. P. Elkin, *Rock-Paintings of North-West Australia*, Oceania, Vol. I., No. 3, 1930.

2. George Grey, *Journal of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and West Australia*, London, 1841.

3. Fred. S. Brockman, *Report on Exploration of North-West Kimberley*. Appendix by Dr. F. M. House, Perth, 1902.

4. Daniel Sutherland Davidson, *Aboriginal Australian and Tasmanian Rock-Carvings and Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1936.

5. A. P. Elkin, *Grey's Northern Kimberley Cave-Paintings Refound*, Oceania, Vol. XIX., No. 1, 1948.

6. J. Bradshaw, *Notes on a Recent Trip to Prince Regent's River*, Proceedings of the Geographical Society of Australasia, Victorian Branch, Vol. IX., Part II.

7. T. Worsnop, *The Prehistoric Arts of the Aborigines of Australia*. Report of the Sixth Meeting of the Australian Society for the Advancement of Science, Brisbane, 1895.

S. C. P. Mountford, *Examples of Aboriginal Art from Napier, Broome Bay and Parry Harbor, North-Western Australia*. *Journal of the Royal Society of South Australia*, Vol. LXI.

INTRODUCTION

To understand the Wond'ina paintings a brief summary of their underlying ideas seems to be indispensable.

In primeval times, the Wond'inas, conceived as mythic beings and totemic heroes, wandered on the earth. They made the landscape in its present form. The myths report, for instance, how a hill arose where a Wond'ina had come to rest; how a creek formed on his track; how a mountain grew up from the axe he had made and left behind. The Wond'inas also made, and taught the aborigines how to use, their weapons and tools. They instituted circumcision, cicatrices, all the rites and usages; they made the laws to which man has to conform. On the completion of their earthly activities the Wond'inas went partly down into the earth, partly up to heaven. On earth the spot is mostly indicated by some never-drying waterhole where Wond'ina survives, generally in the shape of the rainbow serpent Ungud. From him comes the rain on which the preservation and renewal of all life depend. In these Ungud places the aborigines find the spirit children, mythic impersonations of the all-essential substance, man's vital power but for which no children are born. Among the primeval laws is the injunction to keep the paintings in the rock-shelters fresh. The thriving of plants and animals, the harmony of all nature, and accordingly the well-being of all men depend on the observation of such laws. The paintings are restored before the beginning of the rainy season; if they were neglected, no rain would fall.

The name Ungud, prominent in the traditions, is less often heard in connexion with the rock paintings. At first the difference between Ungud and Wond'ina seemed hard to understand; for on inquiry the aborigines mostly said the two were the same. Sometimes Ungud was believed the more powerful of the two. In a creation myth of the Ungarinyin it is Ungud who, rising out of the sea, bids the land emerge from out the water. According to one version the Wond'inas spring from his eggs.

Dr. Petri, in the course of his research, arrived at the same conclusion as Professor Elkin; Ungud is the rainbow serpent; the portrait of it too occurs in the paintings; all anthropomorphic embodiments are called Wond'inas. According to their totemic significance they can assume and reassume animal shape. Those who transform into cosmic phenomena do so at the end of their earthly career.

The Wond'ina portraits, in the interpretation of the Ungarinyin, bring out the idea that their bodies are partly filled with blood, partly with water. The blood which makes man and animal strong is rendered by the red ochre bow, the water by the white colour of the face. That way the Wond'inas generate the rain to which nature's fertility is due.

Translating into conceptions familiar to us, we may conceive Ungud and Wond'ina as incarnations of the creative powers in nature and in man. They are the mysterious sources of all life, also spiritual life. Psychically superior men, such as the medicine-man, or artistically superior, such as the poet of corroboree or the composer of a new dance, stand in especially close relations to the Ungud beings.

The renewal of the rock paintings at the end of the dry season ensures rain; disregard of this primeval law would be followed by drought. A procedure of this kind would have been interpreted by an older school of anthropologists as "rain magic". In the light of aboriginal mythology it is obvious that the preservation of the rock paintings constitutes a significant cult ceremony. At the root of it is a conception concerning the nature and function of images which seems to be common to the majority of ancient cultures and, among many peoples, has survived to the present day. To us this conception is difficult to understand; in fact, no adequate explanation in terms of modern thinking has so far been offered. The portrait is regarded as a living thing and is treated as such. When the shadow on the rock wall fades away, the Wond'ina being vanishes, and thus end rain and fertility.

The visible image is to be preserved as some sort of obligation towards the spiritual being represented. That seems to me an excellent illustration of the religious fact that the supernatural powers need corresponding activity on the part of the faithful if they are to develop and become manifest and beneficial. It is ultimately the significance of all religious practice that, to prepare for the experience of the divine, man has to do something.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PICTURE GALLERIES

The galleries are here grouped according to their principal representations.¹ The majority of these, as far as our finds are

1. The arrangement of the galleries according to their principal pictures with subsequent description of secondary figures was suggested by the large paintings. I retained this scheme for the sake of lucidity although the much-intertwined representations of so many minor motifs did not as readily fit in. I hope, in some doubtful cases, my distinction of principal and secondary cases will not be entirely disproved by later more comprehensive interpretation.

concerned, are portraits of Wond'ina in quasi-human shape. This characteristic appearance he left behind, according to the myth, as his shadow on the rock. "Shadow" in Australian language means "image"; on the other hand, the "shadow soul" is part of man, namely his outward form.

In six of our galleries a lying anthropomorphous Wond'ina dominates the paintings by his size. At three places—in Korályi, Ai-ángari, and Wólang-Kolong his body is covered with Wond'ina heads. This type of representation is not to my knowledge among the material so far at hand.

Among the remaining three large lying Wond'inas is the known one of Modum with two little Wond'inas on his upper part. To him we associate two variations of the type "with two sons", in the Frobenius gallery at Bind'ibi and in Malán A. We also came across erect Wond'inas in over life-size. They are, each time in like manner, painted on the ceilings of the galleries near the natural tunnel by which each of these three rocks is pierced. Another common feature is the old frame of their ochre bows. In the exceeding rich and interesting rock-shelter of Malán an upright Wond'ina is superior in length to a lying one so that, in default of a pertinent myth, it is questionable which of the two is the main figure. An erect figure among few other paintings dominates the rock-shelter of Yangálu. The upright figure of Wund'udu in the so named rock-shelter is accompanied only by two Wond'inas in half length.

Less often we found the principal figure represented only by Wond'ina's upper half. The well-known portrait of the Wond'ina Nyandurgaiali in Kálingi is so placed as if he were emerging from out the earth, his legs and also his hairbelt being omitted. (Apart from this figure, the Kálingi shelter has its "big boss" in the shape of a serpent and is here accordingly grouped.) The peculiar representation—so far unique in the Kimberleys—of the Wond'ina Káhurú has been published by Professor Elkin.¹ In the Brockman rock-shelter at Bind'ibi, Kálorú in half-length stands upright on the wall, again rising from the lower edge of the rock, three large prongs on his head and a mighty lengthened thumb being his distinctive marks. Four close-standing upright half-figures are the manifestation of the Dingo-Wond'ina Am-ángura whose shelter is known under the same name.

Wond'ina heads as leading motif are so arranged in a rock-shelter near Mount Hann that larger heads are horizontal and smaller ones vertical. This recalls the large lying Wond'ina

1. See p. 7 (note 1).

figures whose bodies are covered with heads. As in the Mount Hann shelter the heads are arrayed on very slender rocky steps, it can be supposed that the representation has been so curtailed for lack of space. Special natural conditions make it obvious why here, in spite of so little space, paintings were placed.

In Bradwodíngari a single Wond'ina predominates by striking detail over the rest of the paintings; it is the namegiving motif of the gallery: Brad, the rising sun. The Wurrimodíngari shelter, with a few large Wond'ina heads over kangaroos and bush fruits, has been described by Professor Elkin. A small rock painting near Maliba II. is merely an arrangement of Wond'ina heads.

Four of our galleries are marked by images of large serpents. In Kálingi the great Ungud serpent, coming out of the earth, stands bolt upright on the rock. In Monyol it is winding up on a rock shelf. In Maliba I. a group of large serpents seems to be emerging from out the rock. In Ma: onginga the serpent, less conspicuous for a principal figure, was interpreted by the aborigines as representing Ungud.

Myths of animal-shaped Wond'inás too are illustrated in rock paintings. In the shelter of Jándara Wond'ina appears as a big crocodile with features to some extent assimilated to the Wond'ina face. The Frilled Lizard-Wond'inás exhibit preponderantly features characteristic of the tégulan pictures. The distinctive mark is anthropomorphous shoulders and arms instead of forelegs. Most remarkable is the figuring of the Ant-Wond'ina. Only his head is represented by a pair of large eyes with two upward lines from which dotted rows issue horizontally and, below the eyes, radially. An ochre bow may have been painted around previously; remains of colour roughly forming a semi-circle are faintly visible under a layer of blown white (Fig. 1).

The galleries on the upper King Edward River are dominated by images of local totems: Large eagle-hawks in one and frilled lizards and yams in the other gallery.

Interpretation of individual paintings was partly given on the spot by the aborigines guiding or attending us through the bush. Further information was obtained in camp by Petri and Fox showing sketches of paintings to members of the clan who "owned" the gallery in question. Such competent people were often not available. Knowledge and reliability of the guides and attendants differed greatly. We have throughout refrained from attempting interpretation on our own account.

Coming from the Ungarinyin—or rather the D'erag, their eastern division in the Mount Hann district—Petri and Fox got first to the Roe River Unambal and, after reaching their destination on the north coast, to the Gwi'ni. No large picture galleries were found with either of these tribes. To them Wond'ina is only an individual mythic figure, namely Káluru. In the traditions other mythic personages are prominent. They are represented, not in rock paintings, but in sacred dances.

Our photographs taken in the galleries already examined and discussed by Professor Elkin are not here reproduced. Some particulars will be mentioned for comparison later.

Our attempt at classification reveals in the vast area of the Ungarinyin an utter muddle of types. The fact that motifs obviously alike have been scattered so widely is one more symptom of those aboriginal migrations which make a clear-cut distribution of culture elements in Australia a rarity. Professor Elkin, in his last paper, holds the view that newly-collected myths will prove the interconuexion of a number of picture galleries.

At the very end of our expedition we came across some examples totally different from the Wond'ina paintings. The figures in question are smaller, of human shape, not white-grounded, monochrome in red ochre, sometimes with a light contour. There is no room for them in present-day aboriginal culture. Felt to be foreign and strange, they are given little attention by the aborigines who interpret them all and sundry as *d'imi*, bush spirits. So far only Bradshaw's early report and Mountford's paper had been published on this subject. Mr. Coate, on his successful excursions, also came across the Prince Edward River paintings supposed to have been rendered by Bradshaw inaccurately and other paintings in the same style. His discoveries will, it can be hoped, throw more light on the provenance and significance of these peculiar and un-Australian paintings. Our own few finds can only be helpful in posing the problem. They have at any rate once more confirmed the existence of such paintings which had sometimes been questioned.

According to a letter from Mr. Charles P. Mountford, there are paintings of this kind also in the Northern Territory. Again the aborigines do not know about these figures, simply calling them *mimi* which again means bush spirits.

WOND'INA PAINTINGS IN CENTRAL KIMBERLEY

LYING WOND'INAS WHOSE BODIES ARE COVERED WITH WOND'INA HEADS

Korályi

Situation.

In Korályi is the largest and most beautiful figure belonging in this group, the Wond'ina Warkálimara¹ Yáobuda. Korályi is one of a number of unaccounted rock-shelter names. It is situated about 8 miles east of the Calder River. The gallery is hollowed out on the west side of the great sandstone rock estimated by D. C. Fox to be 200 m. long, 80 m. wide, and 15 m. high. Rising over the surrounding country it offers a wide view from its large plateau.

Stone arrangements.

There are set up two menhir-like and three dolmen-like stones (Figs. 2 and 3). The two menhirs are arranged about 35 m. from one another in a line pointing east to the 1½ km. distant waterhole. Fox noted the fact without stating his opinion as to whether it was a mere coincidence. The smaller menhir and two of the dolmens stand on top of the picture gallery. The third dolmen, about 50 m. further north, is called "Wond'ina's kidney fat".

Principal painting.

Inside the gallery, the smooth wall bearing the chief paintings recedes farthest under the heavily projecting roof which rises in irregular gradations towards the front. The fact that Wond'ina's portrait is screened by some part of the rock is a characteristic feature of the picture galleries. The large lying Wond'ina, 5.90 m. long, is in good condition. His large head is adorned with four cockatoo feathers and enclosed with a lightning sign (Pl. 1a). The four-fingered hands on short arms are painted black and so are the seven-toed feet. The thorn Wond'ina ran into his foot is here to be seen. The black colour, especially in the feet, has a bluish effect due to the admixture of white and probably enhanced by the red contour². Little is seen

1. Warkáli wattle (kind of acacia).

2. This observation puzzled us at the time in connexion with the problematic blue "haloes" in four Wond'ina half-length figures reproduced by Grey. The problem has since been solved by Coate finding the blue material used, glauconite.

of the delineation of the body; an older contour of its upper part is unrestored. The body surface is nearly filled up with 22 Wond'ina heads. Of these seventeen are repainted, five seem to be somewhat older; they are at least more sketchily done.

Secondary figures.

The tiny heads upon the feet have become indistinct. Such entries do not belong to those motifs which it is an obligation to restore, but are made only once by a man who has found a spirit child. An animal's head near the lower foot is explained as that of an eel; a long white something above as yam; a figure further to the right as a serpent-like monster used by Wond'ina as food. Six white double circles above the feet of the large lying Wond'ina may represent the same motif as the halved white ovals interpreted in the Frobenius gallery as fog clouds (Cf. Fig. 9a). The largest Wond'ina carries a marsupial mouse under his feather dress.

Earlier representations (Pl. II.) beside the large head are blown over with white beyond recognition. Only an older Wond'ina head below the two upper cockatoo feathers is still sufficiently distinct to allow to recognize a type of face that became obsolete; it was, in fact, never found in repainted, though occasionally in very weather-worn, heads. The encirclement of this head (Fig. 16 b) is more clearly perceptible because not, as was the practice in repainting, overlaid with white; it was interpreted as fog clouds. This girdle of curved lines has its analogues in certain obsolete and never-renewed motifs round the heads of upright Wond'inias (Cf. pp. 59-60). The new paintings beside the large head are three Wond'ina heads and three bats hanging as when resting on the trees. A lying figure, cross-lined all over, was interpreted as *mulu-mulu*, a female Wond'ina. Her character was not stated; in general the *mulu-mulu* are reputed evil (see under *Ai-ángari*). Nor was any emblem of hers mentioned although a dark rectangle was suspended on her lower hand. This rectangle may be a bark pail, as comparison with the one seen at *Ai-ángari* seems to suggest, though it is not seen in top view here. Two representations, further up, of the rainbow serpent emerging out of a cloud (Fig. 10) are only partially distinct. There are faint fragments of older versions of the squatting woman motif (Fig. 12b): the oldest was of very large size. The peculiar figures right on top (Fig. 4) were explained in detail, as noted in the captions to the reproductions.

To the left of the main group of paintings, the rock wall projects at an angle. A figure, 94 cm. high, with raised arms is drawn there in broad red lines. Two natural holes in the rock wall are incorporated in the picture, representing eyes. Long bristling hair is edged with a contour from which denser little strokes are sticking out. This is an unusually large-sized representation of a kind of being called by the aborigines *devil-devil* and feared by them especially in the dark. The rock here is very uneven. A red-contoured animal figure is set above yellow leaf-like forms (Fig. 5). Some silhouetted hands, owing to the bright reddish-yellow patina of the rock, stand out very colourfully against their blown white foil. Some of the weathered fragments of paintings are supposed to represent tuberous fruits. A red-edged white emu footprint recalls frequent engravings of the same motif which is rare among paintings.

Myth.

The myth relating to this picture gallery was told by old Bronco who at the time of our expedition lived at Munja Station.

Kálnrn came from the north, accompanied by a host of little Wond'inás. Once seeing a stone, he thought: That is a good stone for an axe; let us make an axe. Together with his little attendants he made an axe. For days they struck it into shape, for days they rubbed it smooth and polished it. Inadvertently the stone axe began to grow, it grew and grew into a mountain, part of the Edkin Range. The big and the little Wond'inás went on, by day walking south, by night sleeping in the rocks. Thus they arrived at the Calder River Crossing. When the big Wond'ina was crossing the river, he ran a strong sharp thorn into his foot; it was very painful. The spot is still called Ungud's Track; a large footprint is said to be visible on the rock. The pain did not abate so that the big Wond'ina lay down and the little ones went to fetch a stick. They took one of those trunks wherein the bees like to build their honeycombs. Leaning on the stick and supported by the little ones the injured Wond'ina went on, turned east and north, and arrived at the tambun Malango. Some of the little attendants ran in advance and quickly prepared for his camp in the Korályi shelter. There they laid down the big Wond'ina; for he was very tired. His stick they leant against the wall, his mug they hung in a crevice. These things are extant. A large nautilus shell is lodged in a crevice, the trunk is leant against the wall in front of the *devil-devil*. They must not be touched.

Of the Wond'ina with the marsupial mouse the story goes that he discovered the animal in the trunk of a tree where he was hiding. He meant to eat it by himself and so tried to conceal it under his feather-dress. But the other Wond'inas got aware of his stratagem; so, after all, he must share his prize.

Old Bronco bears the name Kálingi' Warkálimara Yáobuda. He is an impersonation of Káluru, the great Wond'ina of primeval times. He has a sore foot which sometimes deteriorates, though at other times it is less annoying. It will never heal up, for it has been injured in the dream-time, and what happened then will remain for ever.

Situation.

Paintings in many respects similar to those in Korályi were found by Petri and Fox in Ai-ángari in the Mount Hann district on the left bank of the upper King Edward River. The name is a compound of *aia*, a kind of serrated leaves, a favourite emu food, and *ángari*, belonging to. The shelter is situated in a chain of sandstone rocks abruptly rising on table-land.

Principal painting.

The portrait of the large lying Wond'ina is once more found placed on the rearmost part of the wall (Pl. I*b*). Red ochre is the colour mainly applied, only the thin and firm and remarkably steady contours of the large Wond'ina and all eyes are black. The eyes of the large one are edged with a delicate black line; their inner surface is lighter, owing to the admixture of white, and has a bluish effect (Cf. p. 13, note).² Twelve upright Wond'ina heads cover the upper two-thirds of the body. Red strokes on the legs near the knees look like a suspended adornment such as are customarily worn in dancing. The feet are more expressively delineated than those of other lying ones; the twice five toes are elaborately painted at their tips, perhaps an intended representation of the nails. Eight of the upright heads have been freshened up recently. Four smaller ones are of older date and so are the somewhat faded animals, two wallabies and a bird, an ibis. Any body design is absent between the heads, here as well as in Korályi (Fig. 31*a*).

1. Kalingi, i.e. rain.

2. Two features are typical of the Mount Hann, in deviation from the more southern, paintings: Large close-standing eyes entailed by a more slender nose, and white areas inside the ochre bow which, according to an interpretation given to Petri, represent clouds.

Secondary figures.

About 2 metres from the feet of the lying Wond'ina is the portrait of an upright Wond'ina woman, a *mulu-mulu* (Fig. 6). In one hand she holds an upwards-running cord, in her other hand a bark pail suspended by a string and seen in top-view as a plane round with a bright nucleus.

Further to the left, where the rock is more projecting, there are two further Wond'ina heads similar to those on the large lying one. Between them a bird is drawn in white contour. Above the outer Wond'ina head is a white spot and a single white oval bow reminiscent of those fog-cloud encirclements no longer in vogue (Cf. p. 52). If indeed the white clouds on the ochre bow are meant to represent clouds, the case would be one of change of form without concomitant change of ideas.

Another analogy to Koralyi is a large shell likewise sticking in the rock and believed to be Wond'ina's mug. We did not find this attribute in any third place.

Myth.

This is the tale of a *mulu-mulu* recorded by Dr. Petri and here condensed.

The *mulu-mulu* went hunting. She captured two boys and took them in her bark-pail to the Ai-ángari waterhole to cook and eat them. But first she dipped for lily roots. In the meantime the children crept out and ran back to their camp, crying loud, for they had already been skinned by her. The *mulu-mulu* pursued them into the camp. The men threw their spears at the Wond'ina woman, but all rebounded from her hardened skin. At last one hit her feet; down she fell dead. Her shadow and the shadow of her pail remained behind on the Ai-angari rocks. Vulnerability at her feet is also mentioned by Professor Elkin.

*Wolang-Kolong**Locality.*

Wolang-Kolong is situated high up in the massif Lushington Bluffs, about 14 miles from Sale River Station. The large group of paintings stretches over 7 metres. They are sheltered from rain by far-overhanging rock. Above the Wond'ina portrait the stone is veined with light and dark horizontal streaks.

Principal painting.

Hardly any traces are left of the body of the large lying Wond'ina. A dark streak severs about a quarter of the paintings on the left-hand side from the rest. There I seem to make out the contours of two feet, although the photograph does not permit to state this with certainty.

The head is painted on the rock into a deepening which is perfectly even and rectangular as if so hewn out. Beside the large head, on his breast, are four upright small Wond'ina heads. Higher up, on a slightly projecting piece of rock, the large Wond'ina's arm rests with his five-fingered hand. Beside it and above the lying head there projects a boulder, again smooth and rectangular as if so hewn. On it is painted part of a serpent with raised head and, near by, an oval, a serpent's egg. Under the hand of the large Wond'ina is seen his hair-belt set exactly along the edge of the regular deepening mentioned. To the left, the surface is predominantly covered with Wond'ina heads part of which are too weather-worn to be recognized in detail. About the centre is drawn a Wond'ina's upper half with one arm, his head being enclosed by older, hardly perceptible curved lines. These never-repainted motifs have already been mentioned in connexion with an older drawing in Koral'yi (See p. 17 and, for general observations, p. 53). On the lower left, near the dark streak, is seen a Wond'ina head and, on top of it, another unrestored painting which was positively designated "rainbow serpents in a cloud".

Secondary figures.

On the upper left is a much-faded Wond'ina head with apparently the old type of face, enclosed with a new threefold bow. Above it rises the head of a long-necked tortoise, painted conspicuously on the frontal face of a step-like projection, while the neck is set on the bottom of it.

Two wallabies look almost like one two-headed animal owing to the relative position of their heads and forelegs. In fact there are two figures drawn independently of which, to judge from the photograph, the right one is the older. The dot-filled circles, a conventional representation of bush plants, were stated to be small yams. The ovals aligned on the rocky steps to the left (Fig. 20*b*) were interpreted as *lámbara*, a white worm, about 15 cm. long, also known as witchetty grub, which is much appreciated by the aborigines for its sweet taste.

On the leftmost side of the large group of paintings, beside the bow round the head of the long-necked tortoise, are the faint fragments of a head encircled with rays, an old representation of the sun. Such is also the signification of a figure to the right of the principal group (Fig. 7).

The little rod-shaped figures on top of the Wond'ina paintings remain to be mentioned. Sketches of two such squatting figures are here reproduced in juxtaposition with analogues from the Frobenius shelter (Figs. 12*a* and *c*).

LARGE LYING WITH TWO WOND'INA FIGURES

Modum

The Módum gallery with the well-preserved Wond'ina was made known under the name Belguldo by Professor Elkin. His descriptions and photographs need not here be repeated. Further investigation may perhaps bring to light some myth of a Wond'ina with two sons, "son" to be taken as a kinship, and not a family, term; for that combination recurs in two other groups of paintings. However, the twoness may have been suggested as well, in each of the three rock-shelters, by the available space. In Modum the legs of the upper little Wond'ina are unrestored; their traces are discernible below the large one's hair-belt under more densely blown white. The lower little one is painted entirely afresh, body and legs being so curtailed as to fit in as much space as in the upper portrait is occupied by the upper part of the body alone. That in the process the arms have come to reach down to the feet indicates that originally the representation was of larger size correspondingly to the upper one. Apparently it seemed awkward to the artist doing the repainting that the legs of the little Wond'ina should be seen below the hair-belt of the larger, and he may have tried out two divergent alterations: One, by retaining only the upper part of the body, the other, by curtailing both body and legs excessively. It would be no use to ask the aborigines about the true significance. So intensely are they directed on the objective side of their ritual performances that they are not conscious, as we understand the term, of their own activity or capable of reasoning about it.

On our way to the Brockman gallery, which had already been described by Professor Elkin, our aboriginal guide took us, not immediately to our destination, but to another picture gallery at the end of the same Bind'ibi valley. There we found the most

weather-worn paintings we ever came across, which had obviously been unrestored for years. It must be assumed that the horde of this rock-shelter has died out.

On the proposal of our Australian friend Patrick Pentony we named the locality Frobenius shelter.

The Frobenius Shelter

Locality.

The Bind'ibi valley is enclosed on both sides by steep rock walls rising 80-100 m.; it opens on a vast plateau and, at the top, ends in stone deposits. Above such a stony declivity is situated the Frobenius shelter in a huge rock. A little above the ground, the wall offers a long smooth surface, only one uneven spot interrupting the succession of paintings stretching over some 12 metres. The almost horizontal roof of the shelter projects far over.

Principal painting.

At 6 m., the lying Wond'ina surpasses in length the one of Modum. The painting is in bad condition, the white ground peeling off. Water seems to have trickled down from above the head, a dark streak running over it perpendicularly, blotting out the black ovals of the eyes and leaving only the lower edges of the eye-lashes. The eyes and nose are not of adequate size to the wide facial area of the huge head, but are set somewhat obliquely in the lower half of the white round. On top of the ochre bow which is marked with red little hair strokes, three cockatoo feathers are bristling up. This feather adornment, enclosed with red circlets and, sideways, with radially arranged little strokes, is framed by the lightning sign, an unfurcated wide-spanned bow. The two arms of the large lying Wond'ina are carried out; we repeatedly found the lower arm omitted when the Wond'ina was too near the edge of the painted area. The right arm is close to the body, the left one slightly downwards bent as if to embrace the little Wond'ina figure on his left breast. The second little Wond'ina stands below the large one's head. The only clearly perceptible part of this figure is an arm, while the rest of the body is vanishing under the white paint and the little strokes inside the lightning bow. There is no vestige of feet, though I seem to make out the contour of a leg.

Secondary figures.

In a niche-like deepening of the rock, on the left of the large central group, stands an upright Wond'ina figure with long bristling hair strokes, throughout painted in yellowish-brown ochre. Next follow a large kangaroo, 1.30 m. to the tip of the tail, and a long-necked tortoise, 70 cm. long (Pl. IV.c). Pictures we found of the latter animal were repeatedly more or less weather-worn and in no case restored (Fig. 25*b*). The leftmost item is a small figure, 26 cm. long, in red contour on white ground, with feet beyond proportion, and with stretched-up arms. This figure is remarkable because an identical design, likewise on the extreme left, is seen on top of the paintings in Maliba I. (Pl. XIX.a). Unfortunately no interpretation is available as to the significance of such features in either of the two galleries.

Passing over to the right-hand side, we find beside the head of the large lying Wond'ina a well-preserved little group with a motif not frequently seen in such distinctness: The rainbow serpent emerging from out the clouds (Fig. 9*a*). Below it stands a little Wond'ina figure; on the right, a porcupine and a crocodile. A second porcupine to the left is half covered by the lightning sign of the large lying Wond'ina. An analogous motif to the representation of the rainbow serpent occurs in the Brockman gallery (Fig. 9*b*).

Further to the right the paintings are becoming more and more indiscernible. The only thing that can be made out with certainty is that there is no vestige of a white ground and the figures are not contoured, but their areas painted. Of some lying creature in yellow the best perceptible parts are the feet and thin legs. The upper part of the body looks like a bale; where one should expect to find the head there is a bundle of long strokes like a tuft of hair. That is a feature reminiscent of the engravings near Port Hedland, far south on the west coast of Australia. There are, furthermore, peculiar white-coloured forms of doubtful significance, possibly representing insects. This design reems twice high up on the rock wall above the legs of the large Wond'ina (Fig. 11). Near by are a great many small paintings, similar in type to the squatting rod-shaped figure (Fig. 12*a*).

Myth

The paintings are thoroughly weather-worn. It is pretty safe to assume that the local myths perished with the people of their horde. Thus mythical tradition is borne out by events: A manifestation of Wond'ina is vanishing.

While it was our good fortune to come across the Frobenius shelter, we were handicapped at Bind'ibi by a number of circumstances. First of all, the location of our camp proved a failure; in the first days we had to spend more than two hours a day walking to and fro. When asked for help through an aboriginal messenger, Petri and Fox, who were working in the vicinity, came down with some pack animals to resettle us. In these spacious galleries, so rich in interesting features, we felt deep regret that we could not give as much time to everything as we thought fit, for we depended for our movements on the mounts and pack animals lent us at Munja. On account of farm requirements the time granted us for the visit to Bind'ibi was scarce even for the one Brockman gallery about which we knew from Elkin's paper. When our programme was unexpectedly enlarged by the Frobenius shelter, we could not do our task so well as we wished to. Moreover, a difficulty commonly facing the copyist of rock paintings was even more pronounced in the Frobenius shelter. Old weather-worn paintings are often of particular interest. Now the copying of such paintings, laborious in itself, is infinitely more so if one is to render ambiguous features accurately while not anticipating interpretation. Still the result of one's sustained efforts, compared with the original fragments, is only too often unsatisfactory.

Malán A

Situation.

Malán is situated at a considerable distance north of the Walcott Inlet district to which the above-mentioned two galleries belong, beyond the Glenelg river. We got there from Wurewuri, covering the 12 miles' distance to the south in a two days' ride. In a large rock spacious shelters have formed on three sides and a low passage near the centre. From the hill topped by this rock there is a wide view over the monotonous bush scenery around.

Principal painting.

On the right side of the rock is a natural niche in front of which a small platform rises about 3 m. above the ground. A large lying Wond'ina fills this niche completely (Pl. VI., right). The two "sons"—the word again taken as denoting kinship, and not family, relationship—are not painted, as in Modim, on the large Wond'ina, but beside him in two small adjacent niches. It is delightful to observe how such natural features are incorporated in the composition. The large Wond'ina is equipped with an unusual head-dress which leaves no room for the common lightning

sign. Here a red-coloured one is put round his arm serpentine fashion. The middle cockatoo feather rises high above the head, bordered on both sides by hatched elongate forms (Fig. 13). The red lines inside the large Wond'ina's body deviate from the common longitudinal pattern in that sets of parallel lines are given curved or angular shape.

Secondary figures.

The various animals are distributed over the bulges and steps of the overhanging roof to which also the large Wond'ina's arm extends (Fig. 14). The dingo and the native companion are the largest groups. The ovals beside the latter were interpreted as its eggs. Five bats are depicted head downwards in hanging position, the customary way of representing these animals. The forms marked with little strokes on one side are tuberous fruits, supposedly *tergun*, a pungent kind of yam, which is prepared by watering, beating, and roasting. Beside the dingo are seen two small birds which according to the aborigines "live near the water". Which of the many species of Australian aquatic birds that statement implies, is hard to say.

LARGE ERECT WOND'INA FIGURES

Malan B

Location.

Under the designation Malán B are comprised groups of paintings found in the spacious galleries of the huge Malan rock. A passage about its centre has already been mentioned. Near the passage is a far projecting piece of rock with a perfectly smooth lower part. Further to the left, the south-west corner is on either side overhung by high-rising, far-projecting rock.

Principal painting.

In the first-mentioned place, on the ceiling which is inclined slightly backwards, stands the upright Wond'ina figure, 3.50 m. high (Pl. VI., left). The head is 97 cm. wide at eye level; the long-lashed, rounded eyes resemble those of an owl; the long nose is ornamented with several rows of white dots (Fig. 15). These facial features suggest that the being before us is the night-bird Wond'ina. There are round the ochre bow extremely faint traces of long rounded forms similar to those beside the cockatoo feather of the large lying Wond'ina at Malan A. The body ornamentation with curved and undulating lines is unique among our finds. Above the right shoulder are emerging three little half-length Wond'inás.

Secondary figures.

The upright Wond'ina type recurs in the group of paintings found at the south-west corner on the left end of the side of the rock described above. Again it is a roof gently sloping to the rear which, in spite of a good deal of unevenness, bears a number of much-faded paintings. Two upright Wond'ina figures (Pl. VII.) stand close, 1 m. high, rising above the neighbouring figures. Their bodies are patterned with red vertical lines which are denser and more determined than in the smaller, recently repainted one. Both Wond'inas have those close-standing rounded owl-eyes. In the repainting of the smaller figure this feature has been enhanced, very long red eye-lashes being accented by thick black dots. The peculiar head-encirclement has again been omitted in the repainting, but is somewhat more distinct than in B.

Above and to the left are quite indistinct, almost obliterated drawings of birds and stencilled hands between imperceptible fragments. A number of dark broad parallel stripes may represent a group of Ungud serpents, but they are too faint to allow to make out any serpent's heads. To the right follow the fresh picture of a fish and faded circles and ovals, hatched lengthwise or across or filled with dots. Beside these conventional representations of bush fruit there were two forms novel to me: Shaped like boomerangs, half yellow and half red or filled with little red and white dots. They were unhesitatingly described by the aboriginal attendant as sugar-bag, that is, wild honey. Supposedly what they represent is *mai angari*, sacred boards, which are identified with certain foods of which wild honey is among the most important.

It remains to mention some sort of cave on the west side of the rock, dimly lit by a narrow entrance. A very large Wond'ina and some smaller ones can be guessed rather than seen. The drawing of a small kangaroo differs from the common type; it is more animated in the manner of the Kobnda drawings.

I noticed no significant stones or shells, nor did I obtain any myth relating to the Malan shelter. Unfortunately, I was here alone and the settler accompanying me pressed for our departure almost immediately. He had, indeed, much trouble with his mules which tried all the time to run away because of the scanty food at the end of the dry season. For the rest, apart from the Wond'ina paintings, I found here figures of a different kind which claimed the greater part of the little time available.

Yangalu

Locality.

Yangálu is a small picture gallery on the east bank of the Glenelg River, north-west of Malan. It is situated in a detached rock of remarkable shape. The rocky mass, projecting all around, so tapers down as to rest only at five points on the ground, spanning a wide arch over a spacious tunnel in the centre. The name Yangalu means rain cloud. In Modum and in the Brockman gallery at Bín'dibi we found (Fig. 8) lying in front of the paintings large boulders which were described by the aborigines as rain cloud. Here the whole mass of rock is thus conceived since it is relatively so little attached to the ground.

Stone arrangement.

One small and two large polished oval stones are lying right under the repainted Wond'ina figure.

Principal painting.

Again it is the rocky, here more precipitous, roof which on its lower part bears an upright Wond'ina, 1.77 m. high, the most distinct picture in the gallery. The red cockatoo feathers with black ends are white-dotted; fifteen double rows of white dots are set on the ochre bow, six on the breast-plate. Hair and eye-lashes are of regular length and density, ending in black dots. The body is covered with red lines running all through closely parallel. "Him very pretty fellow", the aboriginal proudly remarked with respect to this figure. The right arm is blurred, and the feet, if represented at all, are in any case beyond recognition.

The upper part including the head—1 m. wide at eye level—of a large Wond'ina above the "pretty fellow" are extremely weathered. Eyes and nose are so indistinct that it is hard to decide whether they are of the rounded owl-like type; but the encirclement of the ochre bow with the repeatedly mentioned oval forms is sufficiently clear to allow cross-stripes and two eyes to be discerned in some of them. Two ochre bows further up the rock are entirely faded. Better perceptible is a threefold red stroke with intermediate white ones, a design which was interpreted as lightning.

Minor figures.

The rest of the Yangalu paintings comprise a Wond'ina head and a Wond'ina half-length, a set of tubers, and a bird. The bird, it was said belongs to Wond'ina and lives near the salt water.

The tubers were styled "chicky burrmonth", the *Lergun* yam already noticed at Malan, an important food in the Kimberleys.

Myth.

All our aboriginal guide had to say was that the stones were food that belonged to the great "old" Wond'ina with the metre-broad head. No longer did he come up in a cloud to the place, only the younger one did.

Wund'udu-Modingari

Locality.

Wund'udu-modingari is a picture gallery on the lower King Edward river, so named after a representation of Wund'udu or Walanganda. The painting is found in a passage which is nearly like a rectangular gateway. In particular the ceiling is smooth and straight except for a slight lateral inclination. On this ceiling stands Wund'udu, thus occupying a similar position as the previously described Wond'ina figures on the Glenelg river which are also placed on a sloping roof. There are also passages in the centre of the rock both in Malan and Yangah, only these are lower and the paintings are near by, not inside.

Principal painting.

Wund'udu, or Walanganda, exhibits the features commonly found in the Mount Ham district (Pl. X.). The large eyes are close. The nose is a slender stripe, barely thickening at its lowest part and passing above the eyes almost as far as below. There are broad white stripes inside the ochre bow. The old frame of the latter is not restored any more than in the above-mentioned figures (Fig. 16*a*). Here the fresh ochre bow is covered with those white spots described as *ondolon*, that is, fog cloud, a feature frequent in and, as far as our experience goes, confined to the Mount Ham district. If indeed the bow-shaped designs are an older representation of fog clouds, as was stated to us in Koralyi, they may here be replaced by the white spots inside the ochre bow. At its lower part, about the feet, the Wond'ina figure has not been renewed. Here as usual the red colour indicates the older stratum. In the freshening-up, what commonly is red in the Wond'inas has been painted yellow. The dark ochreish-yellow instead of the customary red may be taken as characteristic of the nature of the personage represented. Walanganda indeed is the celestial hero of the Ungarinyin, being visible on the sky as the Milky Way. Such may also be the symbolic meaning of his strikingly bright-white hands.

Secondary figures.

Here the large Wond'ina figure is accompanied only by two similar half-length Wond'inas. In these figures mainly yellow is applied, apart from some black and white. One ochre bow is densely covered with white dots, which are absent in the other.

Myth (from Petri's unprinted manuscript).

Walanganda belongs to the great Wond'ina heroes which are of more than local significance. The whole tribe of the Ungarinyiu regards Walanganda as the originator of the initiation ritual. He also introduced hunting as practised by the aborigines to-day. Various mythical versions exist of how Walanganda came to heaven. In two of them his injured leg plays some part. He is said to have incurred it when struggling with another mighty Wond'ina. Lying helpless on the ground he prepared water-lily roots in the ashes of his fire. When the roots were done they burst so vehemently that Walanganda was thrown right into the heaven. There his broken leg turned into a *mai-angari* (sacred board) while the lily roots are visible as the Magellanic clouds. The other myth relating to his injured leg pictures Walanganda getting fed up with his condition since he cannot hunt kangaroos with one leg. He must ask a Wond'ina to spear a kangaroo for him. Walanganda then, leaving his shadow behind on the rock, went up to heaven by a thin thread. By the same thread he will return to the earth nightly. His heavenly "camp" is said to be in a cave where a second exit "leads to the other side of heaven". There is a world like ours, only that everything is more beautiful: More water, more shadow, more game, wild honey and yams. There Walanganda indulges in hunting together with the shadows of great Wond'inas. Sometimes, when cooking his hunter's kill, he throws a glowing piece of wood wide into the open, that will then be seen as a shooting star.

With the Unambal, Walanganda (according to Dr. Lommel) is the maker of the heaven and of the animals and plants. He also did the original painting of every one rock painting and inspired it with his power.

UPRIGHT WOND'INA HALF-FIGURES

*Amángura**Locality.*

Amángura is the name of the dingo picture gallery on the Glenelg River after the proper name of the Dingo-Wond'ina. It is situated in the Worora district north of the Sale River. The

location resembles that of the Brockman gallery at Bind'ibi. At the top of the rubble-studded lateral slope of the valley rises a steep rock wall. At its foot opens the gallery.

Principal painting.

Four upright Wond'ina half-figures (Fig. 17), remarkable by thick red dots, are less well preserved than some of the animal pictures. This implies that, when the local totems were restored, the Wond'inas were not.

Secondary figures.

Above the four Wond'inas is seen the drawing of a fish painted over with the same thick dots (Fig. 18*a*). It is a black bream which lives in rivers and stagnant waters. Six dingos, male and female, are painted next to it (Fig. 19*a* and *b*). A flying opossum too is supposed to be here represented (Fig. 46). To me the figure looks so much like some of the pictured birds that I should prefer to interpret it correspondingly.

WOND'INA HEADS

Wond'ina heads we found repeatedly as the principal motif in smaller picture galleries. Here and there the peculiar formation of the rock stimulated the imagination of the primary painters so that they even chose places where no larger smooth surfaces were available as a delightful though restricted background.

Kand'álugari-Odin

Locality.

Kand'álugari-ódin is an example of a picture place selected for the reasons just mentioned. The gallery is not far away from the Walanganda up the natural gateway. In the low rock-shelter, inside a long and, on the whole, flat rock, there is space only for a narrow strip of paintings. The place was probably chosen for the peculiar effect of some quartz intrusions in the dark-brown patinated sandstone of the far overhanging roof. The roof lowers to the back in irregular stages, the last two steps being part of the rear wall. These narrow strips bear a succession of Wond'ina heads which stand out effectively against the dark stone with its light veins. One of the latter looks like the forked lightning sign (Pl. XXVIII.).

Principal painting.

Over 30 Wond'ina heads, except for four lying ones all in upright position, are aligned along narrow, smooth strips of the wall, several metres long. Two of the heads, which are considerably

larger, are similarly contrasted against the multitude of smaller heads as, in the previously mentioned group, the large lying figures by the Wond'ina heads covering them.

Secondary figures.

Lámbaras, the sweet-tasting larvas, are here frequently drawn, part of them inside the Wond'ina heads. Small crocodiles or rather, according to aboriginal interpretation, alligators, are drawn with animation, part of them horizontally on the rock.

Máliba II.

Locality.

Máliba II., a small picture gallery about 150 m. north-east of Máliba I., on the east side of the Calder river, was a chance discovery of our colleague Lommel when strolling about. The rock has almost a mushroom shape. In the centre, under the upper hood, the stone bends gradually backwards. On the innermost vault are painted five Wond'ina heads. Underneath, the rock forms a fairly rectangular projection which, by its even and smooth upper surface and by the rock wall roughly dividing into three columns, is suggestive of a table.

Stone arrangement.

About 23 m. in front of the rock are two concentric circles of boulders disposed at small variant intervals. The outer circle is about 6, the inner 2.50 m. in diameter.

Principal painting.

The uppermost Wond'ina is the largest. His broad ochre bow with many double rows of white dots nearly closes at its lower ends. Upon the forehead a foot is drawn in outline. A design occurring beside as well as above the head, which is fairly perceptible although partly blown over with white, consists in white and red curved lines with a white oval rising on top of them. This recalls the representation of the snake-like tortoise in Wolong-Kolong. Three Wond'ina heads underneath are also restored on a thick bright-white ground. An older head on the upper right got a share of white in the blowing process.

Secondary figures.

Various designs presumably representing bush fruit are surrounding the Wond'ina heads. The half-hidden something on the upper left seems to be branching out in regular semi-circular shape. The question is whether it is of the same type as those unplaced designs which, wherever found, belonged to the older strata of paintings (Cf. Figs. 42; 43a, b).

Myth.

We were greatly surprised when the attending Ungarinyin qualified this painting as "rubbish": It was done by black-fellows; it was not due to Wond'ina. We could not get anything more out of him. Possibly his remark sprang from disappointment, since the place had been found by Lommel without his assistance. He was a vivacious young man who seemed to be attached to the spirit world of the traditions by imagination rather than esoteric knowledge. He dramatically described a struggle with Wond'ina in which he was involved owing to some blunder on our part. It was not clear whether he really believed in that experience or was simply putting on airs. Regarding the stone circle, the aboriginal said Wond'ina had been sitting there and ordained the pictures in Maliba I. to be painted.

*Bradwod'ingari**Situation.*

Bradwod'ingari is situated in the tambun Nalár on the upper King Edward river. In front of the picture rock there is first a fairly level stretch of ground; then a declivity leads down to the creek, a distance of about 200 m.

Principal painting.

Brad, the Wond'ina of the rising sun, is represented only by his head. In his capacity as a celestial hero he is painted in yellow ochre like Walanganda. The ochre bow made up of several stripes almost closes at its lower part, the nose reaching into the gap between its two ends.¹ On their upper side the two lines marking the nose meet the ochre bow and are continued in an oval which may perhaps represent a cockatoo feather. The eye-lashes are especially long and dense. Above all, the long straight hairs, alternately light and dark, resemble rays.

Secondary figures.

On the right and left are pictures of kangaroos facing Brad. Above the largest and best-preserved one is seen a series of kangaroo footprints. These are especially frequent at Bradwod'ingari; they are mostly rather weathered. Wond'ina heads as well as half-lengths and a full-length figure of a small lying

1. According to an oral communication from Dr. Petri, the much-lowered oval of the nose once gave rise to the theory that Brad was represented with a mouth. This seems to me to be disproved by comparison with the older type of the Wond'ina face (see Figs. 9b, 16b; cf. pp. 14 and 52-3).

Wond'ina are partly very faint, partly in the same state of preservation as the head of Brad. There are also older drawings of bush fruits, round forms with little strokes at their lower part presumably representing root fibres.

Myth.

The aborigines attending Petri and Fox stated that all members of the Brad clan had passed away, so there was no one left to tell the myths of Brad.

UNGUD SERPENTS *Kálingi-Odin*

Locality.

Kálingi-odin, on the Backten Creek, about 80 miles north of Munja, we were warned, was difficult to reach. In fact, after passing the Calder Junction we had for hours to struggle across impassable rubble and underwood. Once arrived, we found ourselves in an unusually nice and comfortable camping place. A large and deep waterhole lies about 8 m. in front of the rock wall. The shore here is even and flat. The water shines with a bright turquoise green between the reddish cliffs and the darker leaves and bushes. There the black bream lives, a fresh-water fish and a favourite food of both whites and aborigines. The rocks rise high up, only at the top slightly bending forward to form something of a roof; there can be no speaking of a shelter. The huge wall provides a throughout unlimited background to the paintings. They thus appear smaller than the groups of paintings enclosed in the natural setting of a true gallery. Accordingly our copies although limited to a third of the original size approximated the immediate impression more than we expected, which reconciled us to the fact that we had to leave behind the big paper roll in order to reduce our luggage weight for the difficult way.

Stone arrangement.

In front of the principal paintings is set up a little stone monument, probably the centre of an ancient fertility cult (Pl. XIV.).

Principal painting.

The middle of the chief group of paintings is occupied by the picture of a large serpent, the Ungud Kálingi. He seems to be emerging from out the earth and ascending the rock (Pl. XVa). Also an erect Wond'ina in half length, on the right of the Ungud,

reaches nearly down to the ground. His name is Nyandugadali, "Hair-of-the-armpit". We can compare our photograph of 1938 with one taken by Brockman in 1901 (Pl. XVI.). The peculiar animation of this Wond'ina with his somewhat oblique head, slightly bent arms, and spread fingers has been maintained in all renovations during 37 years. Some minor figures have been added to the Wond'ina portrait since Brockman's visit.

To the principal painting may also belong the two serpents to the left of the upright Ungud, nearly of his size, lying upwards upon one another (Pl. XVI.). They are Ungud's wives, surrounded by grotesque smaller figures. The upper one's name is Waiwangari, the lower one's Lirindindi. They are Unambal, whereas Kalugi is Ungarinyin. The small figures (Fig. 51) are spirits brought in by the serpent wives from the country of the Unambal.

Secondary figures.

The Wond'ina heads and the representations of yams and other tubers interspersed between the Ungud and his serpent wives have been increased in number since Brockman's photographs were taken (Pl. XXIV, and XVb, right). At a few metres to the right of the main pictures is painted a delightful group. Nine yam tubers are lined up in close succession. Rising slantingly they tend to the horizontal half-length portrait of Nurind'ango ("Scratching-the-ground"). The little Wond'ina above the row of yams is his son Lilingo ("Breathing-in-hissingly") (Pl. XVII.). The three lower Wond'ina heads with lightning signs on top of the ochre bows are likewise designated: To the left, Mangaréen ("Spit-out-by-Ungud"); on top, of smaller size, Dangarm ("Lily"); to the right, Kadurlmo ("Hungry-belly"). Oval and round bush fruits fill up the intervals. From behind Wond'ina's little son Lilingo is emerging an older red-painted figure whose raised arms and bristling hair are bordered with light contours—an example of the painting technique without white ground which must have preceded the current white-grounding. Two serpents whose broad bodies are tapering towards their heads are rising slantingly face to face above the lying Nurind'ango. On either head are seen four crosswise sticking-out protuberances. This peculiar accessory is unique among our finds. According to D. C. Fox's notes, the white-headed and white-tongued yellow serpent on the left-hand side was described as Nalata, an equivalent name to Ungud; the red serpent on the

right was a bat; a small yellow serpent by the side of Nalata was Kulaibada, the seed of Kamángu, the kind of yam here represented; the seed was brought in by the rock-pigeon whose picture was seen between the small and the large yellow serpents. The design is in fact only dimly visible near the edge of the white ground. Round the small two-eyed head, strokes are sticking out like those round the tips of the yam tubers. To the pigeon is ascribed the thriving of the Kamángu yam. I would venture the hypothesis that different and perhaps older mythical ideas were originally underlying these paintings. The rock pigeon occurs in a myth concerning the origin of the human limbs and senses. Kahru (Kalingi) chased the rock-pigeon Banbarnga. She fled, and in her anxiety made a great noise. Frightened at the noise, Kahru opened his eyes; up to this moment he had been living in darkness. Then came Wandí, a big serpent, and opened the mouth of man. (From Petri's unpublished manuscript.)

On the large rock wall of Kálingi-odin, older paintings without a white ground are preserved in several places independently of the above-described paintings. Large serpents and yams prevail also in these older representations which are much obliterated and for the most part incomplete. Certain of the serpents, it was stated, were severely injured in a huge conflagration. Some peculiar figures such as recurred nowhere else were described as *guruno*, that is, "the burned people". They were shy, harmless creatures who would "go down inside" on any one's approach. The interpretations of the Kalingi paintings as well as the following myth were obtained by Fox at Munja Station from a younger aboriginal who was an "owner" of the gallery.

Myth.

In primeval times Kalingi set out from Noala and went up the Calder river. He stayed for some while at the Calder Junction, then went up the Backten Creek, passing along the rock wall where there are now the paintings. Higher up he found many flying foxes and killed all of them. On his return he made the great waterhole. In it he made a large abode with an Ungud camp and a Wond'ina camp. Then he went to the west shore to "fix it up"; but all the stones fell down into the water (as a matter of fact, the shore opposite the rock wall is studded with large boulders). There he set up a momment (*d'álalo*) to record his sojourn, and went over to the other shore to fix up that. There he turned into Ungud. When Kalingi turned Ungud, the fish-hawk turned Wond'ina.

The Maliba I. Gallery

Locality.

The gallery is situated east of the Calder river. Dr. Petri rendered the name by "flat stone". Taking flat as synonymous with even, this might be an allusion to the smooth upper surface of the rocks adjacent to the right. It is, however, more likely that the name refers to the gallery itself with its roof overhanging at a little distance from the ground. As the paintings start right at the foot of the rock, the best way of taking photographs was, putting the camera on the ground, to lie flat by the side of it.

Principal painting.

Numerous large Ungud serpents are here concentrated (Pl. XVIII.). Starting at a chasm, they appear to be coming out of the rock. Two cockatoos with large heads and quite upright bodies seem assimilated to the serpent portraits (Pl. XIX.). The bending of their heads, however, as well as their legs and tails mark them as birds.

Further representations.

Two large Wond'ina heads above the ground (Pl. XX.) are equipped with forked lightning signs. Originally three of them stood side by side; but the right one is unrestored. On the frontal part of the projecting roof three more Wond'ina heads were lined up of which again only the left and middle ones are preserved; the right one, since almost obliterated, must have been unrepainted for a considerable time. The same holds of about a dozen Wond'ina heads of medium size which, scattered over the stepwise rising and projecting rock wall, are weather-worn partly beyond recognition. Only three, framed with lightning signs, are in good condition. They are moreover remarkable for being so painted on three rocky bulges that their foreheads coincide with the convex part of the bulges, thus coming out plastically.

Of the animal pictures few are repainted. On the lower right, the anterior one of the two large kangaroos is fairly perceptible. A small tortoise higher up, underneath the cockatoos, is effectively freshened up; the dot-filled circles inside the body represent its eggs (Fig. 25c). Three items to the left of the tortoise seemed at first puzzling (Fig. 24). Their signification came home to me later at Bind'ibi where there was opportunity to compare a similar, more elaborate, and well-interpreted representation of timbi, the owl-like night-bird. Between the plastic Wond'ina heads are seen very old drawings, partly peeling off and partly blown over with white, of a lizard (Fig. 25a) and a long-necked

tortoise. Although the latter animal figures in the myth following below, it must have been for a very long time unrestored. Our rare finds of pictures of the long-necked tortoise (Frobenius gallery, Kobuda; Fig. 25*b*) were in fact invariably old and faint. Near the leftmost plastic Wond'ina head stands that little figure an analogue to which was seen in the Frobenius gallery.

Myth (from Dr. Petri's notes; unprinted).

Once Kahuru, coming from the great salt water, wandered down the Walcott Inlet and the Calder river. In the Kirkan Mountains he caught a long-necked tortoise in the little billabong Didiwar. That was near the Maliba rock-shelter, so he made that his camp. There is a banda-odin of Kahuru; there, they say, he turned into the Ungud serpent.

Mangangu

Situation.

Mangángu, in the tambun Mónyol on the middle Sale River, is 2-3 miles north of Sale River Station. The rock is far overhanging very near the ground.

Principal painting.

A large serpent, 2.70 m. long, is painted on the ceiling (Pl. XXI). Its broad body emerges over a boulder in plastic roundness, two rocky bulges being incorporated in the picture by placing into the deepening between the two elevations a bent piece of the serpent's body.

Minor figures.

Beside the broad triangular-pointed tongue is a small sketchy drawing of a fish. Below it are two hanging bats.

Myth (from Petri's unprinted manuscript).

Nomúrngun, an evil Ungud serpent, came from the other side of the Prince Regent River, everywhere killing many men in order to devour them. In the Kalurungari country on the Calder river he meant to camp in a rock-shelter and to make an image of himself. This was prevented by the Ungud Nyodon ("Snake's-kidney-fat") who had already established his own camp there. Nomurungun went on devouring more people. He arrived at Bandid'en with a full belly. Being tired he lay down. There he urinated three billabongs. In Mangangu he left his shadow behind on the overhanging rock and went down into the

earth. But for Nomurngu's portrait, it is believed, the stone would fall down. The same thing would happen on making a noise there. In a near-by rock-shelter Nomurngu slew many people for the crying of a child.

Maunginga-Odin

Situation.

Maunginga-odin, in the tamberi Nalar on the upper King Edward river, is situated in the same massif as Bradwodingari. Although the two galleries are not far distant from each other, there was no evidence of any mythical connexion between their paintings.

Stone arrangements.

On top of the rock a stone is set up in the way of a menhir. That, the aborigines say, is the Mamgínga Ungud rising from out the rock and overlooking his country. (From Petri's unprinted manuscript).

Principal painting.

This is the fourth gallery, as far as our finds are concerned, where an Ungud left his shadow behind in the shape of a serpent (Pl. XXII.). Maunginga is the mythic hero of the black-headed serpent (*tamalar ngari*). The restored part of the serpent's portrait is small, only a short piece of the longitudinally hatched body being visible. The dark head, because the largest black area, is prominent. The thin tongue is tripartite. The Wond'ina in half length on the right below the serpent seems to have an intrinsic part in the embodiment of the primeval hero of this gallery. The lightning sign round his ochre bow is unrestored. An almost identical Wond'ina half-length on the left-hand side is rather weathered; it seems to be the old representation of Mamgínga. A large serpent with raised black head is parallel to the lightning sign round the Wond'ina head.

Secondary figures.

Ten Wond'ina heads of various size between and beside the half-length portraits are repainted; faint fragments of ochre bows are still visible above. The irregularly shaped ovals with bristling little strokes at their lower part, painted in three rows on the right-hand side, were interpreted as a tuberos fruit, *melar*.

ANIMAL-SHAPED WOND'INAS

*Jandara**Locality.*

Jándara is situated near the Glenelg river, on the left, that is south, side of it. As far as this region the salt water flows up the river with the rising tide. From Mary Springs the rock-shelter can be easily reached in a day's riding. A low massif is so hollowed out on its west side that perfectly smooth horizontal surfaces have formed under the far projecting rock (Fig. 26).

Stone arrangements.

Opposite a cave where bones are deposited, a little beyond the range of the overhanging rock, there is a thin slab, 52 cm. high, set up between some blocks. Polished oval stones are heaped underneath a lying Wond'ina figure. In addition there is a smooth slab marked with undulating lines which seem produced by the action of water, a phenomenon which struck us here and there in the stony ground of Jándara as a local curiosity.

Principal painting.

One of the straight plane ceilings bears the portrait of the patron Wond'ina of the shelter in the shape of a large, 4.35 m. long crocodile (Pl. XXIIIa.) The white stripe across its body is apparently to represent a hair-belt such as are worn by the anthropomorphous Wond'inas. From the large rounded eyes a much lengthened nose reaches down to the end of the snout. Two semi-circles round the eyes are reminiscent of the customary oclure bow. Thus traits of the Wond'ina face are blended with the crocodile's head.

Secondary figures.

A small crocodile is lying in front of the large one's hind leg. In front of and below the crocodile's head, a group of figures is placed partly on vertical surfaces and partly on the vaulted ceiling. A squatting woman with legs wide apart occupies the space between the crocodile's jaws and a native companion (Pl. XXIV.). Between the latter and the uncoiled big serpent is interposed the half-length portrait of a large long-billed bird which resembles the native companion, except that the outspread wings characteristic of the latter are absent. In the lower row, to the right, two wallabies are sitting face to face. Two fishes next to the wallabies are repainted while others, further to the left, have remained in faded condition. Further up, the next

figure is effectively restored. At first suggesting a tortoise, it turns out to be one more specimen of the squatting woman type. A crocodile on the ceiling, further to the left, is painted on top of such undulating lines as were mentioned above as a peculiar feature of the Jándara sandstone which is rather slate-like in its stratification. These lines in the stone look like water in motion. As the crocodile is painted over it, it seems to be swimming in the water. A few faint individual figures further to the left are repetitions of motifs already described. On the extreme left is seen a crowded row of small snake-like figures. They are reminiscent of the representations of the lambaras, those edible larvae, but do not entirely agree with the so interpreted designs in Wólang-Kolóng and Kand'álgari; the latter are shorter and round at their lower part. The signification of these figures here as well as in Kobuda (see Fig. 29*a*), therefore, is doubtful. On the right-hand side, under the principal crocodile portrait, human bones dyed with ochre lie in front of a very low and apparently deepening cave. They were originally bundled up in paper bark and weighted with stones. Wallabies and bandicoots are blamed for upsetting the arrangement. Narrow steps in the rock on the left of the ossuary bear faint drawings of seventeen larger dot-filled circles representing bush fruits and of nine animals. The latter resemble the representations of porcupines, though they are in horizontal position whereas in general porcupines are painted upright. This deviation may be due to the narrow painting space available.

On the right-hand side of the ossuary are the largest vertical paintings of the Jándara gallery, namely two Wond'ina figures lying head to head (Pl. XXIII*b*). Only the two heads and the rudiments of a longitudinally hatched body ornamentation in the left one are repainted. The latter one's arms held close to the body, his hairbelt, legs, and feet are fairly perceptible. Three half-length Wond'inas are showing over his body, and about ten Wond'ina heads can be perceived in the intervals and by the side, together with numerous extremely faint traces of very old ochre bows. This wealth of designs is painted on the ceiling which rises right above the lying Wond'inas. At the lower left, the painted surface is bordered by a double and partly treble dense row of tiny heads probably representing "spirit children". Underneath are laid down the stones belonging to Wond'ina. The body of the right lying one disappears almost entirely under the white blown over it; then, on the white ground,

only the head was effectively restored. Nearly above the legs are painted two birds of which the lower one is in bad condition (Fig. 47a).

Myth.

The following myth was told at Sale River Station by an Ungarinyin.

"An old Wond'ina Garangala was the maker of the rock-shelter. The waterhole is about half an hour distant; in it lived a large crocodile. One day it left the water and went to the shelter where Garangala was. The crocodile lay down on the ground. As it was lying in front of him, the Wond'ina painted it on the rock ceiling. When Garangala had finished, the crocodile went back to the billabong. There they are, the two of them, to this day."

It is remarkable that here the mythic being survives in the waterhole as Wond'ina. In most stories the Wond'ina turned Ungnd before going down into the earth.

The Crocodile-Wond'ina was reputed evil. On the eve of our departure from the gallery, Gerda Kleist carrying boiling water stumbled and scalded her foot. To the aborigines it was an established fact that the Crocodile-Wond'ina was responsible for the accident.

Tegulan-odin

Locality.

Tegulan-odin, or "frilled lizards' images", are found in the tambun Prèmunámban on the upper King Edward River, painted into a niche which, in a huge sandstone block with a generally rough and brittle surface, offers a smooth ground.

Principal painting.

The largest figure is the Tegulan-Wond'ina at the lower right. His head is distinguished from those of the other tegulan by a vertical stroke passing between the eyes across the forehead; I could not, from the photographs at any rate, make out such a stroke anywhere else. The most Wond'ina-like feature is the treatment of the shoulders with arms hanging down, whereas lizards always stretch out their forelegs beside their heads. The longitudinally hatched body terminates in a crevice so that the figure appears to be rising from out of the rock. Twelve frilled lizards of slightly different size are so closely surrounding the

Wond'ina—with whom they were, moreover, simultaneously renewed—that the ensemble of these intertwined figures may well be regarded as the one principal painting. Two rows of eggs are drawn inside each body of two smaller frilled lizards.

Minor figures.

On the photographs, the faded earlier representations are hardly discernible seen beside the keen white of the restored frilled lizards. On the upper left, an animal facing to the principal group may be a dingo. Some oval and round forms may represent bush fruits.

Kobuda

Situation.

The Kóbuda gallery is about half a mile west of Glenelg and about 13 miles south of Wmrewuri on the pathway to the Sale River Station. One first descends to the great waterhole Dsiringalla. The waterhole has a shining green colour; the rocky shore, rising on three sides, an orange-red patina. One then walks round the hill on the other side of the declivity to reach the picture gallery on top of the hill. It is situated in the internal angle of two rocks which are nearly perpendicular to one another.

Stone arrangements.

On the shore opposite the gallery, at the foot of the declivity, are heaped up half a dozen polished oval stones. They are of lighter colour than the surrounding rock in general; some are broken. It is a Wond'ina monnment such as are the upright slabs set up on large horizontal boulders further up.

Inside the gallery the common polished oval pebbles are lying on the left-hand side of the angle formed by the rocks, some in a hole which by its size and rounded shape resembles a ship's bull's-eye, others on a rocky shelf.

Principal painting.

On the left-hand side a large pair of eyes is painted on a projecting wall and screened by the roof immediately over it (Pl. XXXVI.). Two broad strokes issue from the eyes and vanish higher up. Dotted rows are arranged below the eyes, radially, and above, horizontally. They are partly repainted, partly come out pale through the blown-over white (Fig. 28). Traces of a red semi-circular frame are too vague to allow the

original shape to be restored. Perhaps the design was previously enclosed by a broad or multiple narrow ochre bow. Sets of dots on the left-hand side, dimmed by the overlaid white, are indefinable.

Right underneath the portrait of the Ant-Wond'ina, where the stone has cracked off, a horizontal smooth surface has formed which bears the drawing of a squatting woman. This is the largest and most elaborate representation of that frequent motif. The rock wall, over a few metres' length to the right, is entirely fissured. This is the place of the bull's-eye hole with the oval stones. On the slanting lower part of a rocky bulge, six ovals, irregularly shaped and about 50 cm. long, are painted over with light-reddish ochre. The aboriginal after some hesitation interpreted these ovals as yams. There are further oval stones lying underneath.

Exactly in the internal angle of the two rock walls is a small, low, but rather symmetrical cave. On its ceiling a little Wond'ina stands between animals. To do the painting the artist must have assumed an uncomfortable position. The Wond'ina has tiny arms and overlong feet. On his left shoulder rises a long, wide-forked lightning sign. The bending of head and body conveys some peculiar animation to the figure. The wallabies too are pictured as if they were bustling about. Such liveliness distinguishes this representation to some extent from the rest of the Wond'ina paintings. Between the repainted wallabies, older drawings are discernible through the blown-over white. Serpents, tortoises, and—oldest item perhaps—a long-necked tortoise are motifs here no longer preserved. At the right and left corners of the small cave are pictured wallabies with their young in their pouches. An older drawing perceptible below the animal mother is reminiscent of the previously mentioned figures possibly representing lambaras (cf. p. 38). The encircling bow rising over amidst the head of the Wond'ina on the lower left may perhaps represent a lightning sign. Higher up, a serpent is winding slantingly towards the upper left. The combination with a similar serpent occurs in the group of wallabies at the left edge of the cave.

Myth.

In front of the above-described principal painting the aboriginal guide remarked spontaneously: This Wond'ina was particularly averse to women. They were strictly forbidden to

enter his gallery. The drawing underneath the ant's head was to remind of a woman who in spite of this restriction came here and was killed for it by the Wond'ina.

There was found in Kobuda, finally, an almost indiscernible small old monochrome painting (Fig. 42. Cf. p. 47).

TOTEM REPRESENTATIONS

Tégulan-odin

Locality.

Tégulan-odin, "frilled lizards' images", in the tambun Nalár on the upper King Edward river, are found inside a low cave at the foot of a large massive rock which is capped by a flat stone. The largest and best-preserved painting is placed on a bulge between the vertical socle and the nearly horizontal ceiling.

Principal painting.

Two frilled lizards with broad tails and legs spread around are combined with a number of yam tubers (Pl. XXIX.). Animals and plants agree in their surface pattern and in the colouring of their heads.

Secondary figures.

A large yam like a two-rooted tooth and a frilled lizard with head turned downwards are drawn on a vertical wall which, as far as Petri remembers, projects at a right angle to the principal group (Fig. 30).

Warána-odin

Locality.

Warána-odin, "eagle-hawk images", are painted on a large detached boulder. To reach the latter one has, coming from the passage under the portrait of Walanganda, to turn to the left. A flat hollow makes a fairly rounded niche which has been selected as framework for a concentrated set of paintings.

Principal painting.

A number of the large birds are painted so low that they appear to stand on the ground. Another group, further up, seems to be entering the rock. The two eagle-hawks to the left, holding an indefinable black-dotted red something between their beaks, show an almost heraldic arrangement. Between them a wallaby stands upright. Above, two eagle-hawks turning back to back form

a triangle inside which appear a small Wond'ina head and, on top of it, a larger one. The upper one has white ondolon in its ochre bow and a tall red cockatoo feather rising amidst it. Two Wond'ina heads on the lower right are unrepainted.

Secondary figures.

These paintings are so interwoven with one another that the distinction between principal and secondary figures is here hardly tenable. In this respect we may refer to the particularly striking grotesque anthropomorphous figures called by the aborigines "devil-devil" and described by them as bush spirits, dreadful especially in the dark. When once our aboriginal attendants were to fetch water occasionally by night, they set fire to a tree on the river bank so as to keep the devil-devil away with the light.

Myth.

The aborigines who took Petri and Fox to the picture gallery did not know the mythical story of this painting. They only said that the Warana Wond'ina had here gone to heaven and was still visible there as the Southern Cross. A myth of Warana, without specified locality, is related by Capell¹: Wodoi had stolen the two laid eggs from the eagle-hawk's nest. Warana chased the thief. The latter's companion, D'ungm, taking up boomerang and club, intervened, and when the pursuer was tired, killed him. Warana turned into a rock painting, the eggs into two stones said to be visible in front of the painting.

PAINTINGS IN NORTH-EASTERN KIMBERLEY

About 3 miles south-south-west of the new Drysdale Mission Station lie two rock-shelters, both of them known under the name Gra Ammeri. *Gra* is the equivalent Kulari word to the Ungarinyin *tambun* which means the territory of a horde. In Ammeri II., about 150 m. up the valley, Fox came across what are the only two Wond'ina paintings among our finds in Northern Kimberley. According to the local aborigines, Kulari and Kulinyi, these paintings represent Kahuru.

Two different interpretations were offered as to a representation (Fig. 32) in the Langanana rock-shelter, in a long, narrow sandstone ridge about 2 miles north of the old Drysdale Mission Station. On the one hand, the painting was interpreted as "yams and the sun"; on the other hand, the form seen on the left was described as a mai-angari. Both interpretations may be correct.

1. A. Capell, *Mythology in North-West Australia*, 1939, Oceania IX.

assuming that mai-angari stands for yam. In Malán a motif which in every respect resembled a complete painted mai-angari was defined as wild honey (cf. p. 24). An outline of similar shape on the middle King Edward River was interpreted as mai-angari. Mai-angaris, then, are not an entirely uncommon subject of these paintings; among the engravings found near Port Hedland sacred boards are even frequent.

White colour is applied in the two Wond'ina paintings in grounding, in "yams and the sun" in the drawing. It is absent in the following groups of figures from the vicinity of Drysdale. A drawing from Ammeri I. (Fig. 33) seems to me related in motif to the Wond'ina paintings. Yams and a crocodile are represented beside a long rod-shaped figure and seven rod-shaped little mamikins.

An outlined figure from the Langanana rock-shelter (Fig. 34), considerably larger than six partly-painted attendant figures round it, was once interpreted as d'imi (bush spirit) with children, and again as a father of Drysdale Mission taking a walk with aboriginal children. They are, however, drawn lying, while we should deem upright position essential to walking persons. The aborigines don't seem to worry much about that, which illustrates the great diversity of point of view in the rendering of the surrounding world. Another drawing of the same provenience (Fig. 35) represents the persons similarly, but in upright position.

A grotesque picture (Fig. 36) was found in the more northern Kanbudjoadangi rock-shelter II, in the Gra of the same name, about 100 m. east of the pathway between the old and new settlements of Drysdale Mission: A child sucking a woman's giant breast. The group, to judge from the bright colour, does not appear to be old, but it is in bad condition. Petri when inspecting the original was struck with the impression that it was very old, and the same opinion he formed as to the rest of the paintings. It then turned out that the local aborigines know nothing about it. With noticeable indifference they invariably declare these figures all and sundry to be d'imi, that is, bush spirits. Thus these paintings present the same difficulties as most of the rock paintings which have come down to us from by-gone peoples about which we know little or nothing. A proportionately large group (Fig. 37) is painted on a lofty boulder in Kanbudjoadangi I., about 3 miles from the new mission station and some 300 m. from the above-mentioned rock-shelter in the same Gra. Although the various shades of individual figures might as well be due to the more or less thick layer of paint, chronologically different strata can be

distinguished. The most faded figures are, moreover, smaller and not so simply drawn in plain strokes. A straddling figure beside the squatting woman is likewise obviously older.

Faded human figures resembling the older ones arranged in groups are also found single. The example from Anumeri I. displays a similar posture as the figure beside the grotesque woman (Fig. 39). In Kanbudjoadangi II., the squatting little figures are painted on the ceiling. To the same type of paintings belong Pl. XXXI*a*, *b* and XXXII*a*, *b*. Unfortunately the photographs are very blurred. Petri's note-book with pertinent sketches was destroyed in a bombed cellar.

The unsatisfactory reproductions are included in this publication on account of the particular interest we think these finds possess. They immediately suggested to us Mr. Bradshaw's drawings of his strange discoveries on the Prince Regent River. In spite of some improbable details Bradshaw's paintings so convinced us that we inquired and searched for them throughout our expedition. We were not, at that time, aware of C. P. Mountford's good reproductions. Only at the very end were our hopes fulfilled. Unfortunately our examples are few; but at least they prove that a different style than that of the Wond'ina paintings does occur in the Kimberleys. All these pictures of a different kind we at first called "Bradshaw paintings". That is a makeshift designation possibly covering representations which on the strength of wider knowledge may turn out to lack any connexion.

OLD PAINTINGS IN CENTRAL KIMBERLEY

Our search for old paintings was even less successful in our southern area of research. Perhaps we had here reached their outermost line of diffusion. That at any rate is what the Ungarinyin's story seems to suggest (see p. 47). I found the paintings in the last but one shelter I visited on the lofty rock of Malan. The faded paintings are placed on vertical steps screened by projecting stone near the centre of the rock. Obviously these surfaces were the first, because the most suitable, to be painted. On this rock, then, where there are Wond'ina paintings as well, their location proves the monochrome human figures to be older. Apart from their weather-worn condition, their age is confirmed by the aboriginal's statement.

The tall bent figure in red ochre comes out only vaguely on the reddish rock (Pl. XXXIV.). Some uninterpreted signs in front of the arms differ slightly in colour, being rather violet. The thickenings of the arms and the cords with tassel-like ends have their analogies in Bradshaw figures.

An elongate figure enveloped by shapeless colour patches is vanishing in remnants of ochre pigment; no legs being drawn, the resulting effect is that of a long gown (Pl. XXXV*a*). It is obvious to the eye that the pigment was applied in stripes, which betrays the use of a thin brush-like instrument such as a bird's feather or a twig with chewed end. On the right hand side two sets of three branch-like forms each stand out in dark reddish-brown. On the lower left is a smaller and more rectilinear reiteration of the large figure (see also Fig. 11*a*). The significance of the design on the right hand side remains obscure.

Fragments of paintings in the interval between the two figures copied and on either side of them are hardly decipherable. A number of figures are painted at the top of two elongate horizontal red rectangles from which they are almost unmarked-off. Between these figures recurs another and considerably smaller iteration of Pl. XXXV*a*, about 27 cm. high. Striding figures— if correctly so designated—are about 36 cm. high in one instance and no more than 10 cm. in another.

Clusters of human figures are painted on the opposite, that is, east side of the rock which is reached by passing the tunnel. Fewer shelters have formed here, and there are no Wondjina paintings. On the vertical piece of a rocky step, under a far projecting roof, crowded figures can be perceived, though only a few individually. A striking feature in the best preserved of these figures (Pl. XXXV*b*) is what seem to be rudiments of wings under the arms. Sporadically light contours are discernible round the red body areas.

The winged figure recurs further down where two white irregular ovals are painted on top of an upright figure. Several figures are marked with yellowish white contours; there is no vestige of this feature on the west side.

The branch-like motifs (Pl. XXXV*a*) occur on the east side repeatedly; in one instance a cluster of several is crowned with a bundle of long delicate white lines. On a single stone which must have fallen off the rock wall, the branch-like motifs, 32 cm. high, are found together with an outstretched arm.

Unfortunately our photographs are too blurred for reproduction. The original prints confirm the copies here reproduced. Three figures of which no copies were made are here given in photograph. They have an amazing resemblance to certain South African rock paintings. An example of these is here shown in juxtaposition. One should expect to find the two specimens in

adjoining districts rather than on two continents separated by the ocean. In pointing to the fact, we are far from attaching any scientific value to it. We certainly do not mean to imply that the curious coincidence can be taken as evidence of culture contact between Australia and Africa.

Concerning the old paintings our Ungarinyin guide to Malan had little to tell. Pointing east he said: 'That way are many more rocks high up the hills like Malan, with similar paintings. The black-fellows have nothing to do with them. Long ago Kujon, a black bird, painted on the rocks. He struck his bill against the stones so that it bled, and with the blood he painted. He painted no animals, only human-shaped figures which probably represent spirits. It is long since he did so.'

In close proximity of the great Malan rock shelter the aboriginal found some solitary old figures in faded grey-violet, painted on the vertical walls of a small canopied niche. The attitude of these figures (Fig. 41) is reminiscent of Pl. XXXV*a*. The tallest (Fig. 41*a*) stands obliquely under an elongate painted oval on one of the lateral walls. The other wall, at a right angle to the former, bears the two neighbouring figures (Fig. 41*b*) and one of those tiny striding figures (15 cm. high).

In some striking features there is perfect agreement between these pictures of Malan and the drawings reproduced by Mountford. His figure No. 30 resembles our two specimens (Fig. 41*b*) except for their heads: Short arms are slanting down from bodies the shape of two long vertical stripes. The uncommon shaping of the lower part of Mountford's No. 31 resembles the central part of the melucidated paintings (Pl. XXXV*a*, right), only that there are here more numerous and narrower stripes bending round the straight central one. If I am not mistaken, there are even branch-like forms coming out from behind the neck. Such correspondence is the more astonishing taking into account the considerable distance between Malan and the Drysdale River Mission. It seems to me that like traits so peculiar must have sprung from like specific ideas; hence they must be indicative of cultural connexion. It may be assumed, then, that one culture once extended over the area between the picture places known to us and that further evidence of it may be found there.

A design which unfortunately is most fragmentary comes from Kobuda. The very faint reddish-violet lines hardly allow of interpretation. The upper part of a central figure with arms stretched out laterally seems the safest item to identify. On the left-hand side I seem to perceive fragments of two figures

raising their arms. The leaf-like cross-lined form on the upper right recalls similar designs below an animal figure in Koralyi (Fig. 5). For the loosely arranged parts of a quite dubious representation on the lower right a comparison with the old vegetable-like design in Modum may perhaps be illuminating (Fig. 42). Also an old painting from the vicinity of the Drysdale Mission may—we are suggesting it with due reserve—find its best explanation as a vegetable motif (Fig. 43).

The rock paintings of the Bradshaw type seem to have no relation to present-day aboriginal culture. No interpretations are at hand such as the traditions the Kimberley tribes provide for the Wond'ina paintings. The Bradshaw paintings, therefore, must, for the time being at any rate, be reckoned as prehistoric finds, which implies all the difficulties confronting the investigator of art of unknown provenience. This state of things may change if a greater number of paintings in the Bradshaw style and by good luck fragments of pertinent traditions should be discovered. For anthropological research has shown, precisely in the Kimberleys, that the aborigines did not preserve their old-time culture in never-changing, rigid forms.

Between the fresh-kept Wond'ina and the "Bradshaw" paintings there is a tremendous difference as regards style, technique, and objects represented. But inconsistent as the two styles of rock painting appear in their more typical examples, we still find intermediate forms of technical process.

There are indeed a number of Bradshaw representations which are like the old paintings in so far as they are set directly on the rock wall, and not on a white ground—although they are less weather-worn—and which may be compared to certain Wond'ina paintings such as "The alluring figures" (Fig. 12). A number of white-contoured small figures seemed familiar to our Ungarinyin attendant who unhesitatingly interpreted them as frogs. The customary ground is absent also in the ghost-like little beings, interpreted with a sure command of detail, in Koralyi (Fig. 44); white colour is here applied like red in line-drawing. In the old Frobenius gallery even a local totem animal, a long-necked tortoise, is throughout painted red and edged with a light contour. Finally in Kalingi there were serpents and yam tubers in faint condition and without application of white, though otherwise very much like those restored on white ground. Such observations suggest the question if there were earlier paintings, equal or related to the existing Wond'ina paintings in form and significance, but devoid of the white ground.

Petri, in his investigations, paid special attention to processes of cultural change. He was able, in various areas, to study initial and advanced stages in the development of new ritual pattern promoted by the younger men and tending to oust established cults to which the older people adhere. Also the migrations of certain corroborees show that ritual forms of ancient tradition undergo changes. The same body painting and head dresses which, in the north, were requisites of a sacred dance performed only among the initiates, reappeared further south as stage properties in a corroboree play which was very popular at the time of our expedition and which we saw both at Munja and Sale River Station.

In the last chapter it will be shown that among the seemingly uniform motifs of the Wond'ina paintings there are some older and now discarded form elements.

These facts suggest that it might be possible also in the study of rock paintings to trace earlier developments of customs and styles by more numerous finds and continued inquiries.

I would mention a hypothesis suggested to me by the skeleton appearance of some "Bradshaw" figures. A skeleton-like body painting is a requisite of some corroborees. In the belief of the Kimberley tribes it is the dead who inspire a new corroboree in the medicine-man. His *ya-yari* goes to the realm of the bone souls. There he is shown the figures of the dance, the pertinent body ornamentations and dance implements. When returned to the earth, he will teach them to the men of his community. This ensemble of ideas has nothing to do with the Wond'ina paintings. There seems to be some affinity, however, with the old Bradshaw figures. Perhaps other methods may yield further evidence that the spirits of the dead once dominated aboriginal imagination more than is obvious to-day.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WOND'INA PAINTINGS

In trying to understand these strange pictures, it should be borne in mind that they do not reflect present environment, but illustrate mythical traditions of primeval times. Accordingly all features of Wond'ina's appearance are significant. For instance, as has been mentioned in the Introduction, the red ochre bow was explained as blood, the white face as water, which substances filling each half of Wond'ina's body, endow man with strength and nature with fertility. According to other versions, the ochre bow is equivalent to the rainbow; in this connexion a second bow on top was interpreted as rain-cloud*. More often the bows

*From Petri's unprinted manuscript.

over Wond'ina heads are interpreted as signs of lightning (for instance in Kalingi, Pl. XVII.). Lightning signs are indeed attached to many Wond'inas, but they do not belong to their standing attributes. They occur also as broad, flattened, furcated bows over the heads (Koral'yi, Maliba, Kobuda). In Malan the lightning sign is wound round Wond'ina's arm serpentine fashion. Similarly postured serpents accompany two lying Wond'inas in the Brockman gallery at Bind'ibi, where the serpents are distinctly marked as such by their heads, but are otherwise almost beyond recognition because for a long time unrestored. Under the image of the serpent the lightning sign was frequently represented on the old sacred mai-angari boards.

The black ovals on the breast of the Wond'inas most aborigines were at a loss to explain. Occasionally these ovals were interpreted as breast bone or as heart or as the "medicine" Wond'ina keeps in his body. Professor Elkin mentions an interpretation as a pectoral such as, for instance, a pearl bowl.

For the body surface design too—red stripes and rows of little strokes or dots—various explanations are available, for instance as body painting or as rain. A myth of some primeval Wond'ina having painted himself like that and thus made rain would justify both interpretations; but nothing of the sort has come to our knowledge. An interpretation Petri got repeatedly was that the body surface design represents Wond'ina's beard. This Petri considers the more valuable statement, partly because there was agreement of several informants, partly because a long beard is an important attribute of mythical beings in various Australian traditions and plays some part also with other tribes just in rain-making. Occasionally the body surface design departs from the common scheme of longitudinal hatches or dotted rows. The two large Wond'inas of Malan A and B are partially painted with sets of parallel strokes, running in curves and meeting at an angle. They are to some extent reminiscent of the Western Australian tjuringas the surfaces of which are engraved with opposing sets of lines. Many such boards have come from the desert into the Kimberleys through intertribal trade. The assumption may perhaps be justified that indigenous Wond'ina painting has been influenced by such imported decorations.

The myths associated with the galleries refer to their principal figures most of which are conspicuous by their size. The more or less numerous minor figures representing the totems of the clansmen are rarely mentioned in these myths. They are not linked with the principal figure nor with one another by any relation derived

from primeval times. This may account for the fact that, as a rule, the principal figures seem to be restored without alteration, while the drawings of animals and plants allow of alteration. Once an old totem is no longer represented in the community or a new one arising¹, an old motif is dropped or a new one added.

Most frequent among the animals are kangaroos (Fig. 23) and wallabies (Fig. 29). The large kangaroo species are one of the pairs of social totems from which the moieties of the Ungarinyin are named.

The birds which are likewise numerous pictured are believed to be especially near to Ungud. They were the first to be endowed by him with speech, whereas the rest of living beings learned to talk only later.² There is in the rock paintings a variety of bird types corresponding to the many species of Australian birds. The significance of the portraits of the especially sacred owl-like night birds (Fig. 24) is by no means obvious. It seems Wond'inas too are sometimes owl-eyed (Pl. VII. and Fig. 15). One soon gets familiar with the various types of birds: The large native companions (Fig. 14 and Pl. XXIV.), the eagle-hawks (Pl. XXX.), the cockatoos (Pl. XVIII.), all sorts of aquatic birds (Figs. 41*a, b*; 42*a, b, c*). The two animal species which we found nowhere restored are the porcupine and the long-necked tortoise. The former is represented in the largely weather-worn Frobenius shelter (Fig. 9*a*); it is repeated nine times in a row, but is scarcely perceptible, at Jandara (Cf. p. 38). Three porcupine drawings in the Brockman gallery at Bind'ibi are vanishing because peeling off with the white ground, as can be seen in Fig. 43. The invariably old pictures of long-necked tortoises are reproduced in Fig. 25*b* and Pl. XXVIII. The specimen in the Frobenius shelter can be supposed to be the oldest because of the absence of a white ground (Cf. p. 48).

The Ungud and Wond'ina paintings in Kalingi show how established forms, memorized again and again, have been faithfully preserved. There is no difference between Brockman's photographs of the big serpents, taken in 1901, and ours, taken in 1938, any more than between the respective reproductions of the Wond'ina Nyandugaiali (Pl. XVI.).

On the other hand, we observed alterations even in Wond'ina representations. All fresh-painted heads, apart from those rare owl-eyed ones, are fairly alike. In the Mount Hann district a somewhat different type of face prevails, marked throughout by slender

1. These questions are discussed in detail in Petri's unpublished manuscript.

2. From Petri's manuscript.

noses reaching up beyond the close-standing eyes. The ochre bows are covered with white spots. Again a number of old Wond'ina heads seem to have another type of face in common: Rounded eyes and a rounded nose characterize the painted-over head in Koralyi (Pl. II. and Fig. 16*b*), the Tortoise-Wond'ina at Wolang-Kolong (Pl. III.), the upright Wond'inas in the Frobenius gallery (Pl. V. and Fig. 9*a*), the head beside the rain cloud in the Brockman gallery (Fig. 9*b*), and two nearly imperceptible heads in the same place which seem to have belonged to upright figures (Fig. 43). The features of these weather-worn examples from earlier strata come out more clearly in the left and middle ones of the plastic Wond'ina heads in Maliba (Pl. XX). Here it is obvious that their rounded eyes have no lashes, but are bordered only by a number of small dots. The eyes of those weathered figures too seem to be mostly lashless; a dotted line is more likely to have vanished, leaving no trace, than strokes representing eyelashes. Incidentally, the above-mentioned two plastic heads at Maliba are older than the third to the right, which was supplied with eyelashes when restored, and than other more recent paintings in this gallery; thus they too have not been "touched" for a considerable time. Fresh-painted heads with rounded eyes we found only with Kalurn, the so-called lightning-man, in the Brockman gallery, with the animal-shaped Wond'inas at Jandara (Pl. XXIII*a*.) and Kobuda (Fig. 28), and with all Ungud serpents. The Kalurn portraits in the vicinity of the Drysdale Mission are lashless and only bordered with dots (Figs. 31*a, b*). Very old pictures with rounded eyes were found by Mr. Coate in Central Kimberley. Our collected material, pictorial and mythological, provides no clue to these observations. They may still be useful in further investigations.

The larger distance between rounded eyes and nose as found in older representations seems once between oval-shaped ones in the portrait of Brad. The suggestion which has been made that Brad may be the exceptional case of a Wond'ina with a mouth can, I think, be dismissed by referring to the older type of Wond'ina heads.

Another instance of changing representation of the mythic heroes is the obsolete encirclements of the ochre bows of some Wond'inas. They were not mentioned by most interpreters. Probably they represent clouds, though some specimens would rather suggest a feather-dress, a forerunner of the differently-painted cockatoo feathers now customary. For this adornment,

frequent in restored paintings, occasionally resembles in outline the old cross-lined bow forms, e.g., the red-and-black-painted feathers on the head of the lying Wond'ina in Koralyi (Pl. Ia.; also for two specimens Fig. 16*b*). The interpretation of these ornaments as cockatoo feathers was given very positively, and it was invariably repeated wherever we came across that accessory, e.g., as to the Wond'ina with the marsupial mouse and his more slender cockatoo feather in Koralyi and as to a lying Wond'ina in the Brockman gallery. In Yaugalu we find on top of the weathered upper Wond'ina the old encirclement of long cross-lined bows (Pl. VIII.), underneath, however, on the restored "pretty fellow", four very long and slender cockatoo feathers, two at each side of the ochre bow (Pl. IX.). Finally the old and new motifs coincide in Walanganda (Pl. X.; Fig. 16*b*).

The repainted ochre bow with two cockatoo feathers is set off by the blown-over white against the earlier painting. The latter is not, however, composed of individual cross-lined figures arranged in a semi-circle such as are fairly perceptible in Malan (Pl. VII.) and Yangalu, resembling cockatoo feathers; the curved lines above Walanganda are rather like those interpreted as clouds above the old head in Koralyi (Fig. 16*a*).

In a different way the well-known cockatoo feather motif is combined with versions of the older unaccounted for motif in the encirclements of two lying Wond'inas. In Malan A (Pl. VI. and Fig. 13) a tall cockatoo feather over amidst the ochre bow is margined by close-standing, cross-lined, slender figures. While the latter are somewhat weathered, the feather dates from the latest painting. It might, therefore, cover some other central piece which would account for its unusual length, say, a serpent done simultaneously with the lateral figures and forming part of the original design. Similar reflexions as to what was originally represented or intended are evoked by the large bow round the head of the lying Wond'ina in the Frobenius shelter at Bind'ibi (Pl. IV*a*), as its shape is suggestive of clouds (see, for instance, Pl. II.). The middle "cockatoo feather" is a broad-margined bow. There is no evidence whatever, on the photograph, of serpents instead of feathers reasonably forming part of the picture of clouds. I did not then—in the early stage of our expedition—examine the original for this point. The occurrence of rainbow serpents and clouds on top of a Wond'ina head is proved by the interpretation to that effect of a very faint painting in Wolang-Kolong (Pl. III.). All portraits we found of the rainbow serpent emerging from

out the clouds are more or less weather-worn and invariably unrestored (Pl. II, and Figs. 9, 10). Also the representation of the lily blossoms interpreted as clouds in the Brockman gallery at Bind'ibi (Fig. 50) is old and, among our photographs, unique. The condition of all these examples indicates that cloud motifs are no longer in vogue, which adds to the probability that similar paintings which likewise became obsolete had the same significance. Additional finds may perhaps bring more numerous and unambiguous examples in support of the hypothesis here submitted for discussion that the cockatoo feathers do not belong to the older representations, but were painted instead of repainting rainbow serpents and cloud bows.

The devil-devil are mostly fresh; they often seem to be recent additions. Comparison of our photographs with Brockman's reveals an increase of those grotesque little figures over the last decades. Only once was something beyond their name mentioned and their connexion with the Ungud-Wond'ina being referred to: In Kalingi they were described as the attendants of the two serpent women who brought them in from their home, the country of the Unambal, to their husband, Ungud, stated to be Ungarinyin.

Many of the smaller figures are evidence of prevalent sexual conceptions. The figure of a squatting woman with visible genitals recurs in various rock-shelters, largest in Kobuda and well perceptible also in Jandara (Pl. XXIV.). Once acquainted with the motif, one recognizes it in all sorts of sketchy drawings which at first seemed undeterminable. In one case a membrum virile is painted on top of a squatting woman. The penis is much enlarged with the male, the vulva correspondingly accented with the female devil-devil.

In one of Sir George Grey's rediscovered rock-shelters only the Wond'ina paintings with a sexual significance have since been repainted. Referring to the fact, Elkin remarks: "Probably contact with the Mission and the few settlers has lessened the need of painting animals there for increase purposes, that is, to ensure the food supply, but it has not detracted from the importance of the sexual life, its "history" and sanction".*

Petri holds that the origin of these little figures may to some extent lie in d'amba conceptions and that their increase may be due to the growing influence of the magic Kurangara cults in the Central Australian desert areas. For accented genitals are

*Oceania XIX., 1, p. 8.

typical of all d'amba beings. This hypothesis may be proved or disproved by further investigation. In the former case the devil-devil would turn out to be evidence of a late change of culture in the rock paintings of the Kimberley tribes.

In conclusion I would add a few remarks from the painter's point of view.

The development of contemporaneous art leads us more and more to the understanding of so-called primitive art. Naive art, it might as well—or as badly—be called, since a general characteristic of it is the naivety of its authors. They create their pictures without aesthetic rules, without being aware of the problems of the laws and the object of art. At present it is precisely the art experts who admire their paintings; and it is quite understandable that they would rather not call such art primitive at all. Naive painters rarely depict the environmental world as we view it. They were, therefore, little appreciated some decades ago when the purpose of art was believed to be the rendering of naturalistic reality. To-day what is valued is expressiveness and fine arrangement, which are exactly the qualities of naive works of art.

The more one concentrates on the Wond'ina paintings, the more one feels attracted and interested. One becomes aware of more and more details enhancing the expression or constructive in the composition. To preclude misunderstanding, I wish to emphasize that the following observations are made from the conscious point of view of aesthetic theory which has nothing in common with aboriginal thought.

It is remarkable how ingeniously the paintings are interwoven with the rock formations. Particular figures are accented by means of bulges and projections. Nowhere is there any inconsistency; all representations are so co-ordinated with one another and with the rocks that the effect is organic and magnificent.

Some groups almost call for description in terms of aesthetics. In Kalingi (Pl. XXVI.) the yam tubers ascend slantingly in close procession to the centre which is occupied by the half-length portrait of a lying Wond'ina; the left serpent, above the latter, continues the movement; the right one intercepts it. Moreover, the colours here exhibit a peculiar charm. The agitated confusion of the many serpents, in Maliba I. (Pl. XVIII.), is counterpoised by the vertical configurations on either side, the cockatoos on the left and the broadest of the serpents on the right. The birds seem assimilated to the serpents and yet are clearly marked as birds. At Jandara the group beside the crocodile's head (Pl. XXIV.)

forms a triangle, its sides being the long pointed crocodile's snout and the erect part of the serpent, its basis the two wallabies with the broadest part of the serpent's body. The inside figures are again pressed into triangular shape without impairment to their individual types. The frilled lizards (Pl. XXV.) and the eagle-hawks (Pl. XXX.) fill up flat, rounded niches which called for special concentration in the arrangement of all those figures; more than anything do they appeal to us as self-contained compositions.

I have mentioned such details in terms of our own appreciation of art in order to show that these "primitive" paintings can well be enjoyed and looked at with interest from our point of view. That is one important aspect of the rock paintings. It is possible to appreciate them like any contemporaneous paintings, only that they are then detached from their origin and proper cultural setting. The origin of the Wond'ina paintings, their significance to the aborigines are very different things from the origin and the significance to us of the art of later cultural epochs, although they may be comparable formally.

As was briefly mentioned in the Introduction, the paintings are believed to be evidence of the earthly activities of the mythic heroes who left their shadows behind on the rocks. The aborigines, then, do not regard the paintings as the works of their equals, but as documents of the mythic being represented. Generally, with respect to any of their creations, they only claim to be mediators. The poet of a corroboree is shown a new dance by the spirits of the dead: He only forwards what they have taught him. Even all practical or every-day activities were not originally designed by man. Their hunting practices, the making and use of their weapons and tools have been handed down to the aborigines by the mythic heroes of primeval times. But now they are the conscious makers of their beautiful stone spear-points; they kill their game themselves. What we class as art, the myths and their representation in paintings and dances, is largely a means of getting into communion with the supernatural powers. The change in the attitude of the aborigines during their ritual performances is surprising indeed: There is intense devotion and self-forgetfulness. I remember a myth-teller listening with increasing awe to me repeating one of his stories—one of the deepest lasting impressions I received from the Australian aborigines. I never watched them painting or repainting their picture galleries. Their nature is assurance enough that this too is done in self-forgotten devotion to the object represented, with an undivided zeal. Again in looking at a picture, what engages their mind is the subject-matter and its significance; for

what information they give concerns the objective side. On the other hand, they will give you a fair description of special processes of their handicrafts such as the grinding of colour-pigments.

As far as we can observe, there is no indication that they meditate the formal arrangement of their paintings, though there is some indication to the contrary. Their endeavours "to make 'em pretty fellows" concern such things as careful execution or affectionate embellishment. Expressiveness and fine arrangement spring from an unconscious faculty.

The Wond'ina paintings, then, show that what drives man to represent things is his innate desire for shape and order. The purpose of these paintings is not to copy environmental reality; they are figurations of mythical ideas. It would be out of place to compare them with the models provided by nature. Still, in these "primitive" paintings we find applied certain laws of artistic composition of which we have ourselves become conscious only recently.

The fact is not only important to the anthropologist, but of general interest that in the Kimberleys we are facing the bearers of the culture out of which the rock paintings have grown and obtain from them information about their paintings. For most rock paintings no such direct information is available. Although numerous paintings and engravings have been found in various countries, the answer to the question, what was their import to their authors, can hardly be derived from the paintings themselves. It is doubtful whether further discoveries, however much they may add to our knowledge, can throw more light on this essential point. Rock-painting, over long periods of human history a wide-spread custom, has survived only among a very few peoples. They are the last witnesses of a bygone epoch. It is that epoch from which the earliest evidence of man's image-making activities has come down to us; rock-painting is one of its features. Of course, it is only with due reserve that the Australian hunters of the twentieth century can be compared to the prehistoric painters and sculptors. Still, some information about the Wond'ina paintings may well contribute to the understanding of rock paintings generally.